

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 6419

LIMDIS

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TAGS: PFOR, GE, PINT

SUBJ: FRG REPRESENTATIVE GAUS ON RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS

SUMMARY: AT THE REQUEST OF GUENTER GAUS, HEAD OF THE FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATION, I MET HIM AT HIS OFFICE ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4. OUR CONVERSATION LASTED FOR ONE HOUR AND FIFTEEN MINUTES. WE WERE THE ONLY PARTICIPANTS. THE SUBJECT HE ADDRESSED WAS THE NUMBER OF RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS ON THE BOUNDARIES OF WEST AND EAST GERMANY, EMPHASIZING THE SHOOTING BY GDR BORDER FORCES OF A FRG CITIZEN. HE THEN EXPANDED THIS PROBLEM INTO A DISCUSSION OF FRG EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE GDR. END SUMMARY.

1. GAUS SAID THAT HE HAD RETURNED FROM A MEETING WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, THE SUBJECT OF THEIR MEETING BEING THE RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS, THEIR MEANING AND PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES, AND THAT I COULD REPORT ON THEIR TALKS TO THE USG. HE REQUESTED THAT I DISTINGUISH HIS PERSONAL VIEWS FROM THOSE EXPRESSED BY THE CHANCELLOR. GAUS' REPORT FOLLOWS:

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2. IT HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED THAT BECAUSE OF THE HISTORIC

PROBLEMS OF MTHE TWO GERMANY'S, AND THE WALL, THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF BORDER INCIDENTS COULD OCCUR AT ANY TIME BUT THE RECENT ONE WAS UNEXPECTED, PARTICULARLY AS THE BORDER HAD BEEN RELATIVELY QUIET FOR AT LEAST A YEAR.

3. GAUS SAID THAT AS BEST AS FRG SOURCES COULD ASCERTAIN, THE MOVEMENT OF THE FRG NATIONAL, WHO WAS WOUNDED, INTO GDR TERRITORY HAD BEEN UNINTENTIONAL. HE HAD MISTAKEN THE BOUNDARY AND THE SHOOTING BY GDR BORDER FORCES HAD BEEN CRUELLY UNNECESSARY. NEVERTHELESS, IT WAS HIS VIEW LAND THAT OF SCHMIDT THAT THE ACTION OF THE GDR HAD NOT BEEN PREDETERMINED BY A GENERAL ORDER OF HIGHER AUTHORITIES-- BUT WAS THE RESULT OF CONTINUING TENSION ALONG THE BOUNDARY, MANNED BY BOTH GDR AND FRG SOLDIERS. HE WENT ON TO SAY, AS HIS VIEW, IF THE GDR REACTION HAD BEEN THE RESULT OF A GENERAL ORDER BY THE GDR, AS A WARNING TO THE FRG AND PARTICULARLY THE AUTHORITIES OF WEST BERLIN, SIMILAR FUTURE REACTIONS WOULD BE UNDER THE CONTROL OF HIGHER AUTHORITIES AND LESS LIKELY TO OCCUR AGAIN. SCHMIDT, WAS DISTURBED THAT THE TENSIONS INCREASED BY THE INCIDENT, AND INTENSIFIED BY THE MEDIA OF BOTH THE FRG AND GDR, UNLESS CONTROLLED, MIGHT LEAD TO MORE INCIDENTS.

4. GAUS WENT ON TO OUTLINE THE PROGRESS OF FRG/GDR RELATIONS AND THE POSSIBLE UNFORTUNATE RESULTS OF THE INCIDENTS AND THE CRUEL GDR ACTION:

(A) SINCE BRANDT'S INITIATIVES AND NOW THOSE OF SCHMIDT, THE FRG HAD MADE GREAT EFFORTS TOWARD THE NORMALIZATION OF FRG/GDR RELATIONS SOLELY THROUGH BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. HE DID NOT REFER TO THE ATTITUDES OF OPPOSITION PARTIES. WHILE THE INITIATIVES WERE IN CHIEF THOSE OF THE FRG, THEY HAD AT TIMES MET A FAVORABLE RESPONSE FROM THE GDR FOR ITS OWN REASONS.

(B) THE GDR HAS NEEDED ECONOMIC HELP FROM THE FRG. ALSO, GAUS CONSIDERED THAT THE POLITBURO, ALTHOUGH DIVIDED, HAD, UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF HONECKER, DECIDED FOR LIMITED NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH FRG BECAUSE OF THE PRESSURES OF ITS POPULATION. SUPPORTING
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THIS VIEW WAS THE FACT THAT SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRG/GDR RELATIONS AND THE QA SEVERAL THOUSAND GDR CITIZENS HAD BEEN PERMITTED ANNUALLY TO EMIGRATE TO THE FRG, CHIEFLY FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIOES, AND THE NUMBER HAD INCREASED EACH YEARX.

(C) SOME ELEMENTS OF THE GDR POLITBURO LED BY HONECKER HAVE, BY ACTION, INDICATED AGREEMENT TO A

POLICY OF LIMITED NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. GAUS NOTED THAT, IN HIS VIEW, ALL SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE POLITBURO AND SOME ULTIMATELY BY HONECKER. HE THOUGH THAT, PROCEEDING GRADUALLY, THE POLITBURO HAD MADE SOME DECISIONS CONCERNING THE FRG WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

5. GAUS THEN NOTED, REFERRING AGAIN TO HIS CONSULTATIONS WITHIN THE LAST WEEK WITH SCHMIDT, THE UNFAVORABLE CONSEQUENCES OF THE BORDER INCIDENTS:

(A) IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BEST TO DISCUSS THE INCIDENTS ON A BILATERAL FRG/GDR BASIS, BUT BOTH THE MEDIA IN THE GDR AND THE FRG, SOME OF THE LATTER CHARACTERIZED BY HIM AS EXTREMELY RIGHT WING, HAD BLOWN THEM INTO A NATIONAL CONFRONTATION, AND INTO THE FRG ELECTION.

(B) GENSCHER, RESPONDING TO PUBLIC OPINION AND HIS PARTY'S INTEREST IN MAINTAINING ITS PLACE IN THE COALITION, HAD ANNOUNCED, AGAINST SCHMIDT'S VIEW, THAT HE WILL PRESENT THE GDR CRUEBL REACTION TO BORDER INCIDENTS TO THE UNGA, PROBABLY IN THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. GENSCHER WOULD SPEAK TO THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE FRG ELECTION. HIS SPEECH MIGHT BE HELPFUL TO THE FDP, BUT NOT TO THE LARGER OBJECTIVES OF FRG NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE GDR.

(C) SCHMIDT CONSIDERS THAT GENSCHER'S APPEAL WOULD LEAD TO CERTAIN DEFEAT IN THE UNGA, STRAIN THE SUPPORT OF ITS FRENCH AND BRITISH ALLIES, AND WOULD HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON THE REASONABLY SUCCESSFUL FRG BILATERAL EFFORT TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS, BY PLACING THE BORDER ISSUE AND OTHER FRG/GDR ISSUES IN THE UNFAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL D9.-8, 9* 5#3 7.,
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BERLIN 6419

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6. IT WAS GAUS' VIEW THAT THE RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS, THE RESULTING INCREASE IN TENSION WHICH COULD CAUSE ADDITIONAL INCIDENTS, THE APPROACH TO THE UNGA-MOVING AWAY FROM BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS OF FRG/GDR ISSUES - HAD RESULTED IN NEGATIVE GDR DECISIONS SINCE THE INCIDENTS, AND PRESUMABLY OTHERS WOULD FOLLOW.

(A) HE NOTED THAT IN ADDITION TO THE MAJOR FRG/GDR NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING ACCESS TO WEST BERLIN AND WEST GERMANY, AND THE ALLOCATION OF COSTS, A NUMBER OF SMALL AGREEMENTS "HELPFUL TO THE TWO PEOPLES", NOT REQUIRING FORMALITIES, HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED. HE DESCRIBED ONE AGREEMENT WHICH PERMITTED GDR AND FRG CITIZENS RESIDING IN "COUNTRIES" (AS CALLED BY GAUS) ADJACENT TO THE FRG/GDR BOUNDARY TO MAKE 24-HOUR INTER-FAMILY VISITS. PRIOR TO THE BORDER INCIDENTS, GAUS HAD PRESENTED TO GDR OFFICIALS, A LIST OF 25 ADDITIONAL "SMALL STEPS", INCLUDING ONE TO INCREASE THE PERIOD OF THE ABOVE DESCRIBED INTER-FAMILY VISITS FROM 24 TO 48 HOURS, AND GDR OFFICIALS HAD INDICATED A FAVORABLE ATTITUDE TO SOME OF THE 25 SUBJECTS. SINCE THE RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS, ALL 25 PROPOSALS HAD BEEN SUMMARILY REJECTED.

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(B) IN ADDITION TO THE HARSH GDR REJECTION OF HIS PROTEST OF THE SHOOTING AT THE BORDER, GAUS HAD BEEN CALLED TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY FOR PROTEST OR REJECTION OF SMALL MATTERS, WHICH BEFORE HAD BEEN ADDRESSED TO MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF.

(C) IT IS GAUS' VIEW THAT THE GDR APPROVAL OF THE ANNUAL EMIGRATION OF THOUSANDS TO THE FRG WOULD BE

SUSPENDED OR GREATLY REDUCED. HE ATTRIBUTED THIS POSSIBILITY NOT ALONE TO THE BORDER TENSION, BUT TO THE INCREASING NUMBER OF GDR APPLICANTS SINCE HELSINKI (BERLIN 6361). HE THOUGH THAT HONECKER HAD ESPOUSED THE ARGUMENT THAT PERMISSION FOR THE EMIGRATION OF THE THOUSANDS OF GDR CITIZENS TO THE FRG WOULD REDUCE PRESSURES WITHINT THE GDR. TO THE CONTRARY, THE "MOUNTAIN" OF APPLICATIONS HAD INCREASED. THIS FACT WOULD ENABLE POLITBURO MEMBERS, UNFAVORABLE TO THEIR EXIT, TO STAND AGAINST HONECKER'S POLICY, A POLICY WHICH HE REGARDED AS INDICATING, IN ADDITION TO ITS POLITICAL PURPOSE, ONE OF "HUMAN" QUALITY.

(D) A HARsher SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD GDR DECISIONS RESPECTING THE FRG IS ALSO NOTED. GROMYKO, MINISTER

OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY, HAD TOLD HIM CASUALLY THAT "WE" ARE AWARE OF THE 25 SUBJECTS YOU HAVE PRESENTED TO THE GDR, WHICH GAUS THOUGHT REPRESENTED A NOTIFICATION THAT IF ANY WERE APPROVED, IT WOULD BE BY SOVIET CONSENT.

(E) PERHAPS A STEPPING UP OF SOVIETS PROTESTS REGARDING WEST BERLIN.

7. WHILE MAINTAINING THROUGHOUT OUR TALK THAT HE DID NOT CONSIDER THE PRESENT SITUATION FORECASTS ANY MAJOR FRG/GDR CONFRONTATION, GAUS WAS SOMBER AND PESSIMISTIC ABOUT ADVANCES IN FRG/GDR BILATERAL RELATIONS. HE SAID SCHMIDT THINKS THAT THE CHARGES AND COUNTERCHARGES THAT WILL OCCUR IN THE UNGA WOULD IMPAIR SUCH ADVANCES FOR MONTHS OR LONGER.

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8. RESPONDING TO MY QUESTION, "COULD SCHMIDT PREVENT GENSCHER'S UNGA INTERVENTION?", GAUS SAID, "NO, BECAUSE OF THE ELECTION NECESSITY OF HOLDING THE COALITION." GAUS VOLUNTEERED THAT HE IS CONFIDENT THAT THE COALITION WILL WIN AND SCHMIDT WILL REMAIN CHANCELLOR.

9. COMMENT: NOTING GAUS' COMMENTS THAT THE UNGA PROBLEM COULD STRAIN FRENCH AND BRITISH ATTITUDES TOWARD THE FRG, I CONSIDER DEPARTMENT WILL DETERMINE WHETHER THE FRENCH AND BRITISH SHOULD BE INFORMED ABOUT THAT PART OF THIS REMARKS CONCERNING SUBMISSION OF THE BORDER INCIDENTS TO THE UNGA.COOPER

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